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even Şüfis raised the question of the certainty of the knowledge given by it. So al-Hudjwiri (*Kashf al-mah-djûb*, transl. Nicholson, 271) contends that *ilhâm* cannot give assured knowledge (*ma'rifa*) of Allâh; but al-Ghazâlî would probably have said that al-Hudjwiri was using *ilhâm* in the sense of an idea which one found in his mind, and not of the flashing out of the divine light on the soul which, once experienced, can never be mistaken. Others taught that, while it was sufficient for the recipient, it could not be used to convince others or reckoned as a source of knowledge for men in general. This appears to have been al-Nasafi's position; see his '*Akâ'id*' with commentaries of al-Taftâzânî and others, Cairo ed. 1321, 40 f. A very curious use is by Ibn Khaldûn in the sense of "instinct" (*Muqad-dima*, ed. Quatremère, ii, 331, transl. de Slane, ii, 384; tr. Rosenthal, ii, 370) but this, though a natural development, does not seem to have been taken up by others. Yet Ibn Hâzim speaks of *ilhâm* as a *ḥabî'a* and refers as an illustration to Qur'ân, XVI, 70, on the instinct of bees (*Mîlal*, v, 17).

Bibliography: Add to references above: *Dict. of technical terms*, 1308; al-Djurdjânî, *Ta'rîfât*, Cairo 1321, 22 foot; Râghib al-Iṣṣahânî, *Mufradât*, 471; L. Massignon, *Tawâsin*, 125-8.

(D. B. MACDONALD*)

ILI, a large river in Central Asia. It is formed by the two rivers Tekes and Kunges, which rise on the northern slopes of the T'ien-Shan Mts.; the united stream of the Ili then flows for some 950 kms. across the northern part of the region known in mediaeval times as "the land of the seven rivers", Yeti-su or Semireçye, into Lake Balkhash. The lower course of the Ili falls within the Soviet Kazakhstan Republic, whilst the eastern part of the Ili river system belongs to the Chinese Sinkiang-Uyghur Autonomous Region.

The Ili is first mentioned in the history of the Chinese T'ang dynasty, when one of the main roads from China to Turkestan passed through its valley (Chavannes, *Documents sur les Toukioue (Turcs) occidentaux*, 11 ff.). The oldest Muslim source to mention it is the *Hudûd al-'âlam* (372/982-3), which says that the Ila runs into the İslk-Köl (the existence of Lake Balkhash was not known to early Islamic geographers). Kâshghari calls the Ila or İla "the Dîyahûn of the Turkish country", and he places the Turkish tribe of the Tukhsî in the Ili valley, together with the Yaghma and part of the Çigil (tr. Atalay, i, 30, 81, 92, 408). The *Hudûd* mentions a town in this region, probably to be identified with Kâshghari's frontier town İki-ögüz "[situated] between the two rivers", i.e., the Ili and Yafindj, cf. *Hudûd*, 71, 208, 276-7, 300-1.

It is not known when Islam first came to the Ili valley, but in the 7th/13th century it was regarded as marking the farthest boundary of the *Dâr al-Islâm*, and the lands to the east were only converted in the post-Mongol period. Immediately before the Mongol period, northern Semireçye, including the town of Kayallgh (see below), was ruled by the Karluğ Arslan Khân. He threw off Kara Khitay suzerainty and negotiated with Çingiz; consequently, the region did not suffer from the Mongol devastations so badly as Transoxania and Khurāsân. The upper parts of the Ili basin contained good pasture for the nomads, and Çağhatay had his *ordu* on the Ili after Çingiz's death. The reports of such travellers as Rubruck (651/1253) and the Chinese envoy to Hülegü's court Chang-tê (657/1259) show that the Ili region was still reason-

ably flourishing, but that there was a trend towards pastoralization. Rubruck mentions that after crossing the Ili, he came to the town of Equius (sc. Ili-balkk "town on the Ili"), whose population was Tadjik, and the Armenian King Haiton (Het'um) also visited it. The nearby town of Cailac (sc. Kayallgh) is also described as having many merchants (cf. E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, i, 169), and the trading centre of Alma-lgh [q.v.], to the north of the Ili, was at this time the capital of a small Muslim principality. By the 9th/15th century, however, urban life seems to have disappeared from the region.

From the later 17th century until the destruction of Kalmuck power in Turkestan in 1758, Semireçye and the Ili valley were occupied by the Buddhist Kalmucks or Oyrat. During the time of the great Khân Ghaldan (d. 1108/1697), the Ili valley became regarded as the Khân's personal domain. In the 19th century, it was part of the lands of the Kazaks, but during the reign of Tsar Nicholas I was annexed by Russia. The upper Ili valley, and especially the town of Kulджа [q.v.], suffered considerably during the Muslim rebellion in Chinese Turkestan led by Ya'kub Beg. Because of Russian fears that the outbreak might spread, the district of Kulджа was in 1871 annexed by Russia, but given back to China in 1883.

During the present century, the main centres of population have been Kulджа and the small town of Ili, situated at the junction of the river and the Turkestan-Siberia railway. Navigation is possible during the ice-free months on the Soviet part of the river down to a point near the delta; the waters of the Ili's tributaries are extensively used for irrigation, and the upper reaches are an important source of hydro-electric power (see *BSE*², xvii, 530-1, with a map).

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(C. E. BOSWORTH)

İLİÇPUR [see Supplement].

İLİDJA (r.) "hot spring", and a bath served by a hot spring (whereas in principle, in Ottoman usage, a *hammâm* [q.v.] is a bath whose water is artificially heated), a characteristically Western Turkish word, the diminutive(?) of *il* "hot" (< *ilg*, cited by Maḥmūd Kâshghari, Ar. text, i, 31 = tr. B. Atalay, i, 31, in contrast to "Turkish" *yilg*, as an example of the Oghuz tendency to drop initial y-).

According to 'Āsim (T. translation of al-Firūzābādî's *Muḥit*, s.v. *al-himma*, = ed. of 1268-72, iii, 435; cited in *TTS*, i, 349), a thermal and curative spring is called "*ilidja* in Turkish, *kapludja* in Bursa, and *bāna* [cf. Serbo-Croat *banja*] in Rumeli"; Redhouse distinguishes *kapludja* as "a hot spring roofed in [*kaplū*] as a bath; especially any one of the hot-baths of Brousa". These distinctions are perhaps etymological rather than real: *kapludja* [q.v.] is admittedly used primarily of the baths, served by thermal springs, in the Çekirge suburb of Bursa; and Evliyâ Çelebi says of Sofia (iii, 399) "in these regions an *ilidja* is called *bāna*"; yet he himself uses the word *ilidja* for the baths of Sofia and Buda (vi, 242 ff.), and so too Feridûn (i², 599) uses the terms *bāna* and *ilidja* without apparent distinction in a "Rumelian" context.

Ilidja is a common toponym in Anatolia (over thirty attestations in *Türkiye'de meskûn yerler kılavuzu*, Ankara 1946-50).

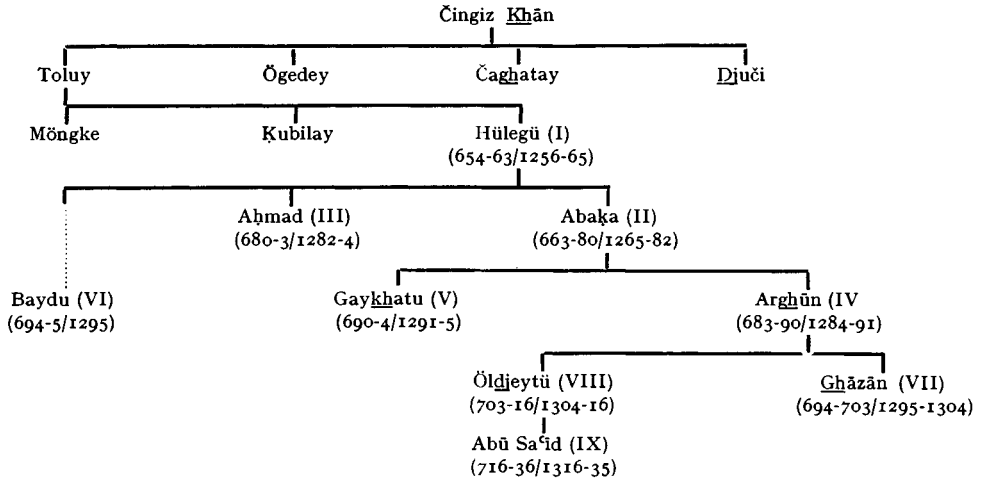
(ED.)

İLİYÂ [see AL-KUDS].

İLKHÂNİ [see TA'RIKH].

İLKHÂNS, Mongol dynasty ruling in

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ILKHĀNS



Persia in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries. The first Mongol advance towards the Middle East (1218-21) had touched only the north of the Iranian area and only *Khurāsān* [q.v.] had, to a certain extent, been subjected to Mongol control. Therefore, when the territories were being divided up under the Great Khan Möngke (1251-9), who himself was fighting in China with his brother Ḳubilay, the task of extending control over Persia, Mesopotamia and, if possible, Syria and Egypt as well, was entrusted to their brother Hülegü [q.v.]. According to Barthold, about 129,000 men were levied for this purpose from the armies in different parts of the empire, and in about 1253-5 Hülegü advanced. He took the Assassin fortress of Alamūt [q.v.], but left the eastern and southern Iranian principalities (Herāt, Fārs, etc.) undisturbed for the time being in order to push forward his advance on Baghdād after negotiations with the Caliph had collapsed. Baghdād fell on 10 February 1258. Hülegü now held southern Mesopotamia and the north of the country fell to him in the following year; only Mayyāfāriḳin [q.v.] continued to hold out against him.

While Hülegü was absent from the army following the death of Möngke (1259), the advance was to be continued through Syria against the Mamlūks. The conquest of Damascus and other towns was successful; but at 'Ayn Djalūt [q.v.], Kotuz [q.v.], with the Mamlūk army which was especially trained for cavalry engagements, obliged the Mongols to halt (3 September 1260) and the new Sultan Baybars I [q.v.], who assumed the sultanate immediately after the victory, proved himself an opponent equal to the Mongols.

This decisive military encounter set upon the empire of the Mongols of Persia its final boundaries: Syria and Palestine remained in the hands of the Mamlūks, with the western edge of the Euphrates valley forming the frontier. To the north of this area it embraced as dependent states Lesser Armenia and Saldjūḳ Asia Minor, which threw off the suzerainty of the Golden Horde, along with the Caucasus region, which had hitherto been subjected, albeit loosely, to this same suzerainty. Various attacks from the north in the following decades failed to loosen the bond between the Caucasus and the Ilkhāns, even when the Georgians engaged in repeated insurrections. The course of the Oxus formed the frontier against Čaghatay's territories in Central Asia. In the east the

principality of the Kart [q.v.] dynasty of Herāt remained more or less independent of the Mongol power; also in Makrān [q.v.] there existed for a time a frontier zone of uncertain ownership against the principalities in Balūčistān and the Panjāb. Likewise the island state of Hurmuz [q.v.] with its possessions and the minor principalities in Luristān as well as in Gilān and Māzandarān [q.v.] were able to remain largely independent; only in 1284, through the marriage of a Mongol prince, did Fārs [q.v.] come into the possession of the Ilkhāns.

The rulers of Persia bore this name to indicate that they were dependent on the Great Khān (in Peking). So it remained until the death of Ḳubilay in 1294, the final adoption of Islam by the Persian rulers (1295) severing the close relationship. From that time the name of the Great Khān disappeared from the Persian coinage and in place of the title "Ilkhān", there appeared the designation "Khān". It is customary, however, for historians to designate the rule of the Mongols in Persia until its end in 756/1355 as the "Ilkhānid" period.

The territory of the Ilkhāns was, therefore, essentially a Persian state with the inclusion of Mesopotamia, and hence rather similar in extent to the Sassanian Empire.

For this reason, their policy towards Central Asia, the Golden Horde and Egypt had to be that of a government of Persia, and in internal affairs too the adoption of Persian culture and tradition was as swift as the corresponding process was in China. Indeed, these two Mongol states formed something of a community of interest against the nomadic states (of Čaghatay and the Golden Horde) which, in a certain sense, lasted beyond the year 1295 mentioned above. The cultural assimilation to Persia and the linguistic acceptance of Turkish were certainly delayed so long as the religious differences persisted. Some of the Mongols who had invaded Persia had been Nestorian Christians, but the majority had been Shamanists; in the royal house and among the ruling class there soon became apparent (even under Hülegü) a tendency towards Buddhism, which perhaps is connected with the fairly close relations with China, and perhaps goes back to the missionary activity of Buddhist priests, *bhikṣhus* (details on whose origin remain doubtful, just as all our sources—all non-Buddhist

—give scarcely more precise information about the spread of the Buddha's teaching). In any case, it found a fertile ground among the rulers and strengthened them in their hostile attitude towards Sunni Islam, an attitude apparently dictated also for reasons of state during the decades of rivalry with Egypt (while conversely Islam formed the link for political and economic relations between Egypt and the Golden Horde, which led to an equally enduring coalition against the Ilkhāns). The enmity against Sunni Islam resulted in a tolerance of the Shī'a, as for example was achieved after the capture of Baghdad under the leadership of the mathematician and astronomer Naṣir al-Dīn Tūsī [q.v.]; this had very favourable effects for their social position and their admittance to the administration. Preference was shown also to the Christians, especially the Nestorians, to whom Hülegü's favourite wife Dokūz Khātūn (d. 1265) belonged; she was also of assistance to the Jacobites and helped to win over the Christians in Syria to the Ilkhān cause.

At the same time the favourable policy towards the Christians made it possible to enter into diplomatic relations with the Christian West; these had already been initiated before Hülegü, but became especially noteworthy under his son and successor Abaqa (663/1265-680/1282), himself a Buddhist. This led to closer relations, particularly with the Papal See and the France of Louis IX (St. Louis) as well as with a few Crusader states, as being the stubborn opponents of the Mamlūks. A proposed joint campaign against the Egyptian state (1269) miscarried as a result of the impossibility of agreeing on the time to undertake it. On the other hand, a simultaneous blow planned by the rival coalition in the Caucasus and on the Oxus (1268-69) was also unsuccessful.

Thus Abaqa could carry through a strengthening of the state founded by his father within the frontiers described above, and thereby he became its true organizer. At the same time he promoted the Buddhist mission, and this openly by building many Buddhist temples. This was balanced by his tolerant attitude towards the Christians. The Nestorians thanked him for this in 1281 by the choice of a Christian Uyghur as Catholicos (Y(h)aballahā III, until 1317), who on account of his descent had access to the court and was able to obtain many privileges, even though he knew neither Arabic nor Syriac.

Abaqa's death of a fever (1282) introduced a period of confusion. His brother immediately embraced Islam and took the name Ahmad. This led to an easing of tension with Egypt which, however, did not endure after his fall at the hands of his nephew, Abaqa's son Arghūn [q.v.], in 1284. The latter, zealously devoted to Buddhism but lacking any real idea of the financial strength of his state, gave a free hand to the wazīr Sa'd al-Dawla, who remained true to his Jewish faith, gave control of many districts to his relatives, and by exorbitant demands for money repeatedly stirred up unrest among the population. This brought him to a violent end immediately after Arghūn's death in 1291. The new ruler Gaykhātū [q.v.], Arghūn's brother, confronted by a financial crisis, attempted the introduction in 1294 of paper money on the Chinese model (and called by the Chinese word *tao*) (see K. Jahn, *Das Iranische Papiergeld*, in *ArO*, x (1935), 308-40). In view of the complete novelty of this form of currency in the Middle East, this led to an immediate and widespread breakdown of trade and commerce. Although he had lifted the measures after only a few months, Gaykhātū was overthrown (March 1295)

and the new Khān Baydu [q.v.], from another branch of the family, did not succeed in retaining his position, in spite of his attempt to gather round him the Buddhist circles and those true to the *yasa* [q.v.].

The collapse of the financial organization was accompanied by a general increase in brigandage accompanied by a disruption of the postal system [see *yām*] set up by the Mongols, which in its turn led to the ruin of agriculture in many places, to the devastation of wide tracts of territory, to marked signs of inflation and to a trade crisis. General disintegration had seized the land, and this seemed all the more menacing when both the Mamlūks and the Golden Horde were preparing for fresh attacks on the Ilkhān state. Thus it was the most urgent task of the new ruler Ghāzān [q.v.], Arghūn's son, who succeeded at the age of 24 on 9 November 1295, to work for peace and order. He did this by introducing a great work of reform under the guidance of the wazīrs Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh [q.v.] and 'Alī Shāh which affected public administration, agriculture, trade and public welfare, even though many of his measures never really came to fruition in the short time available. It was also of fundamental importance that he conformed with the change in circumstances and embraced Sunni Islam, to which the majority of leading men had in the meantime adhered, a step which did not completely suppress old Mongol traditions, such as the respected public status of women, but one which set the seal on the fusion of Mongols and Turks in Persia. This has influenced the pattern of settlement on the Iranian plateau to the present day, particularly in Ādharbāy-djān where the capitals of Tabriz, Marāgha and (from 1307) Sulṭāniyya (near Qazwin) [qq.v.] were situated.

Ghāzān was however prudent enough to show a conciliatory attitude towards the Shī'a; he visited their shrines and assisted their cause with money. Thus he was in a sufficiently strong position to reject the demands of the Golden Horde that he should move out of the Caucasus and to undertake an (unsuccessful) attempt to conquer Syria.

On the death of Ghāzān in 703/1304 the state of the Ilkhāns had passed its zenith. Ghāzān's brother, Öldjeitü, did not continue the work of reform but did at least act capably in the internal administration and in the military sphere. On the other hand, his embracing of Shī'ism in 1310 brought great affliction to the country, since he now proceeded with severe measures against the Sunnis, who were still in the majority; the Christians also suffered more under him than they had under Ghāzān (who had quickly suppressed the attempted campaign of terrorism against them in 1295-6). Thus, civil war was threatening the state when Öldjeitü died in 716/1316 and his young son Abū Sa'īd (the first Mongol ruler with a purely Islamic name) reverted to Sunni Islam. His youth, however, permitted the various factions around him to indulge in many kinds of intrigues. The vizier Rashīd al-Dīn, also important as an historian, was executed in 1318. Into his place stepped a general, Čübān (Čoban) [see ČÜBĀNIDS] who collaborated with the other vizier 'Alī Shāh until the latter's death in 724/1324, but who revealed no statesmanlike skill of his own and fell victim to a plot three years later through a concatenation of unfortunate circumstances. From that time on the two factions of Čübān's son, Ḥasan Küçük, and his former son-in-law, Ḥasan Buzurg [q.v.], fought each other almost continually. Abū Sa'īd no longer played a significant part in this; he died in 736/1335 on a campaign in the Caucasus.

With the death of Abū Sa'īd the Mongol dynasty practically came to an end, although until 756/1355 a motley succession of princes of the house—and even a princess in 1339-40—were installed and deposed as Khāns. The real power lay in the hands of the two Ḥasans, of whom the younger was murdered in 1344 and the elder gradually repulsed to Baghdad, where he founded the dynasty of the Dījalāyirids [q.v.], whose sway remained limited to Mesopotamia. The outlying territories of Asia Minor, Georgia, Little Armenia and the Kurtids had in the meantime broken away from the empire. In Fārs the Muẓaffarids [q.v.] took control, in Māzandarān and further east the Sarbedārīds [q.v.], and central Persia had to endure the incessant battles of local rulers. In 1357-8, Ādharbaydījān was occupied for a short time by the Golden Horde. Only the campaigns of Timūr [q.v.] put an end to this internal collapse—and then only for a short time as the foundations of the empire he created also proved weak.

Under the Ilkhāns Persia, for the first time for centuries, was brought together as a territorial and political entity (even though this was thanks to the toleration of independent minor states): and thus this period must be regarded as of the highest significance for the country. There emerged an unusual development of the arts; and the promotion of various branches of science—while limited in aim (astronomy as a development from astrology, medicine, historiography)—finally raised the standard of the whole nation.

Our information on the period of the Ilkhāns is very extensive; first we have the abundant Persian historiography, especially the works of Djuwaynī, Raṣḥīd al-Dīn and Waṣṣāf [q.v.]; then the independent historiography in Syriac (Barhebraeus, *Chronography*), which views the course of events from a Christian standpoint and thus brings valuable supplementary information, especially on cultural history. Besides these sources, we have works in Arabic, firstly Ibn al-Fuwatī [q.v.], whose work on events in Mesopotamia is very enlightening for administrative history, then the numerous works of early Mamlūk Egyptian history, which reflect the Mamlūk point of view and therefore shed light on external events and provide a contrast with Persian works. There are also several important notices in Georgian, Armenian, Byzantine and Western works which should not be overlooked. The large number of surviving coins form a reliable alternative for the almost complete lack of original documents.

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(B. SPULER)

ARCHITECTURE AND ART

Ilkhānid art represents the art of the Mongol period of Iran, that is from the time when Hülāgū assumed the title of Ilkhān until the death of Abū Sa'īd (middle of the 7th/13th century till 756/1335). It is the period of the strongest Far Eastern influence in the country, which shows itself most extensively in textiles, ceramics and miniature painting and brought into common Muslim use a number of new iconographic themes of Chinese derivation, such as the lotus, the phoenix (*feng-huang*) and square Kūfi writing, which was probably inspired by Chinese seal characters. In many other respects Ilkhānid art is the stylistic continuation and refinement of Saldjūk art, especially in its first half. In turn the art of several minor dynasties developing on the ruins of the Mongol sultānate (Indjū and Muẓaffarid in Shīrāz, Dījalāyirid in Tabriz and Baghdad, and Kart in Herāt) continue the Mongol tradition and thus

constitute the link between it and subsequent Timūrid art.

Architecture. The religious and secular buildings within the present political boundaries of Iran have been listed and described by D. N. Wilber (*Architecture of Islamic Iran. The Il Khānīd period*, Princeton 1955; Persian translation by 'Abd Allāh Faryār: *Mī'mārī-yi islāmī-yi Irān dar dawre-yi Ilkhān*, Tehrān, 1346/1967; for some corrections and additions see the review by Myron Bement Smith in *JAOS*, lxxvi (1956), 243-7). To this body of buildings should be added the Russian publications on the monuments of Āḡharbaydġān and the Turkmen S. S. R. (summarized in L. S. Bretanitskii, *Zodčestvo Azerbaïdžana XII-XV vv. i ego mesto v arkhitekture peredeniego vostoka*, Moscow 1966; G. A. Puḡačenkova, *Iskusstvo Turkmenistana*, Moscow, 1967). In general the plans, techniques and decorative schemes of the Saldġūḡ period continue, especially when after nearly five decades of inactivity a new architectural boom developed. This change of pace was due to the Islamization, Iranization and urbanization of the dynasty under Ḡhāzān Khān (694-703/1295-1304). The main religious buildings were mosques, *madrasas*, mausolea, shrines and *khān-kāhs*. The novel stylistic tendencies are a stress of the vertical by means of higher, often ovoid domes, higher and narrower eyvāns (barrel-vaulted halls open toward the courtyard end), minarets flanking portals or eyvāns and colonettes at corners; the subdivision and opening-up of non-bearing walls through windows, bays, niches and stairways; and stronger use of colour not only in the form of painted plaster decoration, usually in relief, but more specifically, after about 710/1310, by the use of faience mosaic for total wall coverage (D. N. Wilber, *The development of mosaic faience in Islamic architecture*, in *Ars Islamica*, vi (1939), 40-7). The classic Iranian mosque developed in the Saldġūḡ period with four eyvāns cross-axially arranged around a courtyard and with a high dome chamber in front of the *mihrāb* occurs only in the Masġīd-i Dġāmi' of Varāmin (722-6/1322-6) and under Muzaffarid rule in Kirmān (750/1349). However, the two earlier mosque types consisting of an open, domed kiosk based on the *ṣāḡān-lāḡ* fire-temple or of a large single eyvān still occur, namely in the Masġīd-i Bābā 'Abd Allāh in Nāyin of 700/1300, in the three mosques of about 725/1325 in the neighbourhood of Iṣfahān, at Daṣṡti, Kāġi and Ezirān, the Masġīd-i Dġāmi' of Ardabil rebuilt in the early 8th/14th century and respectively, in the monumental Masġīd-i Dġāmi' of 'Alī Shāh in Tabriz of ca. 710-20/1310-20. While on his visit to Iran in 727/1327 Ibn Baṡṡūṡa speaks repeatedly of *madrasas* which according to him served not only as religious schools but also as *zāwiya* (hostel, hermitage or convent). However, only four such buildings have been preserved, all of them post-Ilkhānīd properly speaking. Of these the more significant are the Madrasa Imāmi of 755/1354 and the Madrasa in the Masġīd-i Dġāmi' built between 768 and 778/1366 and 1376, both in Iṣfahān and following the four eyvān-scheme with cells for the students between the eyvāns. The importance given to mausolea particularly to imāmzādas (or burial places of descendants of the Shi'ite imāms) is apparent from their large number, as they comprise 39 monuments among the 119 listed by Wilber. They fall into two major categories, both with an inner dome over the burial chamber in the centre of which there is the sarcophagus, if the latter is not placed in a vaulted crypt underneath. They are either

square chambered with more horizontally dominant features, of which the Gunbad-i 'Alaviyān with very high florid stucco decoration of ca. 715/1315 (according to E. Herzfeld and Wilber, or ca. 1200-1250 according to Minorsky) is an outstanding example; or they constitute the larger group of the taller, vertically oriented tomb towers which can be round, square or polyhedral and are covered by exposed domes or polyhedral tent domes or conical roofs. The earliest is the Imāmzāda Shāh Čirāġh in Shīrāz of 628-58/1230-59 and they were being built throughout the period and after it, the last being the Imāmzāda Kh'wāġja 'Imād al-Dīn of 792-1390 in Kūmm, a town which is particularly rich in mausolea (ten in number, the earliest being of 677/1278). The other town which has preserved many such buildings in its vicinity is Iṣfahān, where the most important is the tomb of Shaykh Muḡammad b. Bakrān, known as Pir-i Bakrān in Līndġān of which the tomb chamber, deep eyvān and entrance passageway were built between 698 and 712/1299 and 1312 and which is very important for its lavish display of carved stucco decorations and faience revetments. The lofty tomb tower of Ḡhāzān built between ca. 1297 and 1305 in Ḡhāzāniyye, a suburb of Tabriz, was destroyed by Shāh 'Abbās I, but the undoubtedly even more remarkable mausoleum of Sulṡān Muḡammad Ōldġeytū Khudābanda in Sulṡāniyya of 705-13/1305-13 is fairly well preserved, although various subsidiary buildings and a surrounding wall with towers have disappeared (a view of the town with this building as seen in 944/1537 in a MS of Naṣūḡ al-Šīlāḡi al-Matraki is illustrated in colour in E. Akurgal, C. Mango and R. Ettinghausen, *Treasures of Turkey*, Geneva 1966, 201). A. Godard has characterized it as "certainly the finest example known of Mongol architecture, one of the most competent and typical products of Persian Islamic building and technically perhaps the most interesting" ("The Mausoleum of Ōlġeytū at Sulṡāniya", in *Survey of Persian Art*, ii, 1103-18; Wilber, *op. cit.*, 139-41). While Ōldġeytū followed the Shi'ite persuasion (after 709/1309), he meant to have the remains of the Caliph 'Alī and of his son, the Imām ḡusayn, transferred to his mausoleum, but this project was not realized. The building is an enormous octagon, about 126 feet (39 m.) wide with the burial chamber containing the cenotaph of the Sultan in a rectangular addition opposite the entrance. The outer walls are lightened on each side by a huge gallery with three openings and the inside by two-storied arcades. A terrace at the base of the dome has a minaret at each corner. The "perfectly conceived and constructed" dome itself has a span of 80 feet (24.5 m.), is single-shelled and solely built of bricks without buttresses, pinnacles or shoulders. The building is richly decorated by painted, flat stucco carvings, much of it imitating brickwork and brick-end plugs, tile revetment, faience mosaic and, on the inside, painting in the manner of book illuminations. Also in this period whole sanctuary complexes were constructed around tombs of venerated saints, such as that of Bāyazīd al-Bisṡāmi consisting of the shrine proper, a Masġīd-i Dġāmi' and a tomb tower, built between 700 and 713/1300 and 1313 (A. U. Pope, in *Survey of Persian Art*, ii, 1080-6; Wilber, *op. cit.*, 127-8), that of Shaykh 'Abd al-Šamad al-Iṣfahāni in Naṡanz, built between 704 and 725/1304 and 1325 which comprises besides the tomb a Masġīd-i Dġāmi', a minaret and a *khān-kāh* (Pope, *op. cit.*, 1086-9, A. Godard, *Naṡanz*, in *Āṡṡār-e Irān*, i, 1936, 83-102; Wilber, *op. cit.*, 133-4); and also that of Aḡmad b. Abu 'l-ḡasan, known

as *Shaykh Dīām*, in Turbat-i *Shaykh Dīām*, where there is a fairly well-integrated congregate of various units erected ca. 1330 (Wilber, *op. cit.*, 174). Finally a religious monument of great distinction is the *mīhrāb* of delicately carved stucco of 710/1310 in a side prayer hall of the *Masjid-i Dīāmi* of Isfahān, which dates from the *Shī'ite* period of *Öldjeitü*. That few secular buildings are preserved is partly due to the fact that *Ilkhānīd* rulers preferred to live in luxurious tents till the end of their rule and that such monuments were built of wood and other perishable material. In the Mongol mountain town of *Saturik*, a site now called *Takht-i Sulaymān*, is a large ruined *eyvān*, decorated with niches topped by *stalactites*; it was part of a palace which according to *Hamd Allāh Mustawfī* was rebuilt by *Abākā Khān* and has been dated ca. 1275 by Wilber (*op. cit.*, 112). As the intensive German excavations between 1960 and 1964 elucidated, the intricate palace complex was composed of various units such as isolated *eyvāns*, cross-shaped buildings either with a central court or a central dome, rectangular halls, a twelve-sided building, etc., all erected along the four sides of a huge near-square layout with pillars forming an arcade around the courtyard with the oval lake in the centre. Wall tiles with geometric designs and partially glazed blue and green were discovered there, as well as two capitals decorated with Chinese dragons. In addition, a great deal of locally manufactured pottery, especially of the so-called *Garrūs* type (which had previously been dated 5th/11th to 7th/13th century), and moulds for *mīhrābs* and animal sculptures appeared in the ruins. Furthermore, a square building with a carved doorway, apparently covered by a central dome was found to be Mongol (although it was formerly thought to be *Parthian*) and it was assumed that it might be a mausoleum. Finally, there was a large Mongol gateway. All these discoveries were unique and thus of the greatest importance for our understanding of secular Iranian architecture (R. Naumann, W. Kleiss, et. al., *Takht-i Suleiman and Zendan-i Suleiman*, in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, lxxvi (1961), cols. 51-9; idem et. al., *ibid.*, 1962, cols. 660-70; idem et. al., *ibid.*, 1964, cols. 27-65; idem et. al., *ibid.*, 1965, cols. 697-713). In addition, three poorly preserved caravanserais of the standard court type were found near Marand (ca. 1330-5), *Sin* (730-1/1330-1) and *Sarčam* (733/1332), of which in each case the best preserved part proved to be the single portal. In *Sin* it is followed by an unusual hexagonal vestibule, while in *Sarčam* the cut stone entrance doorway and inscription above it betray *Syrian* influence. The most unusual secular building was probably the observatory built about 656/1258 at *Marāgha* on *Hülāgū's* orders from plans prepared by *Naṣīr al-Dīn Tūsī*. The structure is known to have contained a dome and a library, to which *Ghāzān Khān* added yet another dome, all of which were already in ruins in 1340 when *Hamd Allāh Mustawfī* wrote his *Nuzhat al-kulūb*.

A novel feature of the Mongol period was the massing of public buildings in newly constructed quarters, such as the *Ghāzāniyya* of *Ghāzān Khān* and *Rab'ī Raṣhīdī* built by his vizier *Raṣhīd al-Dīn*, both near *Tabriz*. Thus the former included besides the sultan's mausoleum and his palace buildings, a mosque, two *madrasas*, a *khānkhāh*, a *zāwiya* for *sayyids*, an observatory, a hospital, a library, archive and administrative buildings, *hammāms* and a fountain, while the latter boasted two mosques, *madrasas*, a *khānkhāh*, scientific institutions, two libraries,

hospitals, *hammāms*, caravanserais, spinning mills, paper factories, a dye house, a mint and gardens (K. Jahn, *Tabriz, ein mittelalterliches Kulturzentrum zwischen Ost und West, in Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse*, Jahrg. 1968, No. 11, pp. 207, 210). It is not specifically known whether or not these structures were built in a coordinated or more haphazard fashion; if the first assumption is right (and much speaks for it), this Mongol activity would be the forerunner of the "*küllīyye*" foundations of the Ottoman sultans in *Iznik*, *Bursa* and *Istanbul*.

Ceramics. The main manufacturing centre was *Kāshān*, since Rayy did not resume its activities after the Mongol destruction of ca. 1220. Throughout the period *Kāshān* produced both large scale *mīhrābs* and small scale tile revetments (both called *kāshī* after the town) as well as pottery. Of these the production of the *mīhrābs* was the more conservative. Symbolizing a niche, they usually formed a succession of flat arches with the innermost often showing a lamp (in reference to *Sūra XXIV*, verse 35) and had as their main decoration *Kur'ānic* passages or invocations of the *Shī'ī* imāns, rendered in dark blue relief set against a lustre background. The manufacture starts as early as 623/1226 and continues as late as 734/1333, and as the signed pieces indicate was at times practised by family workshops. As the often dated tiles show, they were made throughout the period and as late as 739/1338. They were usually lustre painted and formed *dadoes* in which eight-pointed stars alternate with cross-shaped units; from ca. 1300 on, the latter were for contrast's sake glazed cobalt blue or turquoise green. While the tiles for religious buildings showed floral or arabesque designs, those made for secular structures displayed realistically rendered animals and, occasionally, figural subjects in the *Saldjūq* tradition. Only in the 8th/14th century do the depicted personages begin to wear Mongol costumes. Toward the end of the 7th/13th century rather coarse relief designs appear with Far Eastern motifs in the centre and large *nashkī* writing in white on a blue ground as the framing device. In the 8th/14th century there is a definite decline in the artistic quality.

Throughout the 7th/13th century the pottery, too, followed *Saldjūq* tradition, but was slowly losing the delicate details and general refinement of the earlier wares. A new, nearly hemispherical shape appears and also a heavily shaped bowl whose upper walls are vertical and crested with a flange which projects both outward and inward; there is also a new interior decorative scheme of radial segments filled with alternating motifs. While overglaze painting (called *minā'i*) disappears in this period, other techniques emerge which become specifically identified with this period. These are a ware with underglaze painting in green, blue and purple on a white ground made between 672/1274 and 729/1329; a ware with a characteristic deep cobalt blue glaze with overglaze painted designs in white, red and gold used for both pottery and tiles (only one dated tile of 715/1315 so far discovered); finally there are three related wares which can be attributed to the first four decades of the 8th/14th century and which, though erroneously connected with the modern town of *Sultānābād* (where the earliest pieces had been found), still show stylistic connections with the earlier *Kāshān* production. Their common aspect is a coarse clay body, heavy potting, a very dense underglaze painted design in which the ground nearly disappears usually under a display of foliage, and a

preference for a subdued chromatic range consisting of greys, browns and whites with dark blue and turquoise only discreetly used. The flower and animal motifs are often of Far Eastern origin and the figures wear Mongol costume. This type of pottery had a strong influence in other Muslim countries, even those politically at odds with the Mongols. Its style is therefore found not only in the pottery of the Golden Horde at Saray Berke, but also in Damascus and Cairo (A. Lane, *Later Islamic pottery. Persia, Syria, Egypt, Turkey*, London 1957, 6-20). The material evidence of the pieces themselves is corroborated and supplemented by a section in a Persian MS of 700/1300 in which Abū 'l-Kāsim 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Abī Tāhīr, son and brother of two well-known Kāshān potters, provides information about the raw materials and technical processes involved in the contemporary Kāshān production of glazed ceramics (H. Ritter, J. Ruska, F. Sarre and R. Winderlich, *Orientalische Steinbücher und persische Fayencetechnik*, Istanbul 1935).

Metalwork. It is difficult to differentiate the Iranian objects from those made in neighbouring countries especially in the Dījazira. The designs on the brasses of the 7th/13th century and those of the 8th/14th century, inlaid with silver and sometimes with gold, and very rarely with copper, become progressively drier, more rigid and less imaginative in comparison to those of the Saldjūk period. However, they continue the earlier modes of decoration, particularly the deployment of the patterns in registers with skilfully arranged roundels and cartouches of various sizes set against formalized background designs, and often using human figures in court scenes. In this respect they show the strong imprint of Mesopotamian, especially Mawṣil work, although it must be remembered that the pieces from that region were originally themselves influenced by the Iranian metal production. (For a study of a special group starting in 705/1305 with a bowl by a Shīrāzī artist see Eva Baer, *Fish-pond ornaments on Persian and Mamlūk metal vessels*, in *BSOAS*, xxxi (1968), 14-27). Chinese influence is occasionally found (R. H. Pinder-Wilson, *A Persian bronze mortar of the Mongol period*, in *Proc. XXVth Int. Congress of Orientalists*, 9th-16th August 1960, Moscow 1963, ii, 204-6). That the period is not without creative ability is demonstrated by a number of new shapes for caskets, especially a polygonal one with a domed cover. Dated pieces of the 8th/14th century indicate that in the second half of the Mongol period there is a growing predilection for the sole use of inscriptions, floral designs, arabesques and geometric patterns, although a bowl of 752/1351 still has human figures in the uninterrupted main register. L. Giuzalian has identified a production in Shīrāz made for the Indjū Sultan Abū Iṣḥāk (see *Proc. XXVth Int. Congress of Orientalists*, ii, 174-8). Shīrāz work continued under the Muẓaffarids, as a signed piece in the Cairo Museum of 761/1360 indicates. A different type of metalwork, a huge bronze basin by an Iṣfahānī artist, carrying the name of the Sultan Ghīyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū Bakr of the Kart dynasty, was cast in 776/1375 for the Masjid-i Dīāmī in Herāt (A. S. Melikian Chirvani, *Un bassin iranien de l'an 1375*, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, n.s. lxxiii (1969), 5-18). A third, and again different post-Mongol group consists of a number of richly silver inlaid bowls with elaborate miniature-like court scenes in or between roundels which foreshadow the Timūrid painting style. (A gen-

eral survey in D. Barrett, *Islamic metalwork in the British Museum*, London 1949, pp. XVII-XIX).

Textiles. There is no doubt that fabrics were woven in Iran during the Mongol period, but modern research has so far not been able to distinguish them clearly from the products of other Muslim regions and possibly even from those made in China. These textiles called *panni tartarici* in Western sources represent an international luxury style. It is, however, obvious that the overall organization based on roundels with one or two heraldically rendered animals and an interstitial pattern which had been developed in Sāsānian times and was still current in the Saldjūk period was no longer the main arrangement. Chinese ideas had thoroughly destroyed that convention of many centuries and had introduced new composition schemes and Far Eastern motifs. The arrangement which was closest to the old system was an overall pattern of pointed ovals formed by a system of stems which enclose animals in a circular setting. Otherwise there was often an open composition with animals in alternate rows placed in dense vegetation. The most common organizational schemes were bands of various width with Arabic inscriptions, flowers, geometric and other formal designs and, to a lesser extent, with animals and birds. The key piece is the burial robe of Duke Rudolf IV of Austria (1365) in the Episcopal Museum in Vienna which has the name of Ilkhān Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd woven in it; this in turn is close to the fabric found in the tomb of Cangrande I at Verona (1329) (G. Sangiorgi, *Le stoffe e le vesti tombali di Cangrande I della Scala*, in *Bollettino d'Arte*, n.s. i (1921), 441-57; see also Otto von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, Berlin 1913, ii, 50-63, now antiquated, but richly illustrative material; W. Mannowski, *Kirchliche Gewänder und Stickereien aus dem Schatz der Marienkirche*, Danzig 1929, vol. 3, vol. 2, nos. 30-33; Phyllis Ackerman, *Textiles of the Islamic periods*, in *Survey of Persian Art*, iii, 2042-61; Lane, *Later Islamic pottery*, 3-5).

The Art of the Book. The period's earliest dated book bindings of 676/1277 and 697 or 699/1297 or 1299 respectively, both from Marāgha, use blind tooling to create a central mandorla-shaped medallion and triangular corner pieces within a simple frame. The punches are limited in number and all of a geometric nature with the exception of two arabesques on the flap of the second piece. In composition and in its filling devices this binding is still in the Saldjūk tradition and only in the following century does the style advance. Thus on a thirty-volume Kur'ān set made in Hamadān in 713/1313 for Sultan Öldjeitü gold tooling in the form of dots appears and is applied to a larger and more elaborate circular medallion filled with geometric patterns. Designs impressed into the lining (doubleure) of the binding are first found in 704/1304 and the first signature stamp in 706/1306. By 735/1334 the central medallion and corner pieces have become bigger and have a more elaborate outline, while in 781/1379 the earlier mode of filling the decorative forms with geometric strapwork has been replaced by arabesques and even naturalistic floral branches. Overall large scale geometric configurations as found in Mamlūk Egypt remain, however, unknown, and in the 8th/14th century the use of gold tooling remains still limited (R. Ettinghausen, *The covers of the Morgan Manāfi' manuscript and other early Persian bookbindings*, in *Studies in art and literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, ed. D. Miner, Princeton 1954, 459-73; K. B. Gardner, *Three early Islamic book-*

bindings, in *The British Museum Quarterly*, xxvi, (1962), 29-30).

More spectacular than the bindings are the illuminations, especially the "carpet pages" in Qur'āns and other MSS. Here again Öldjeitü was the great patron, as is shown by the large size, thirty-volume Qur'ān set in the National Library, Cairo, created in Hamadān in 713/1313. Here colourful arabesques and knot designs were placed within ever changing geometric layouts. Other giant Qur'ān MSS were written for the same sultan in Baghdād in 706/1306 and in Mawṣil in 710/1310. A Rashid al-Din MS of 710/1310 demonstrates that other texts were also handsomely decorated, in this case with a carpet-like repeat pattern within a richly treated frame. Its design is, however, in a less monumental, more delicate style and the same general tendency is noticeable in later Qur'ān MSS of 728/1327 and 738/1338. All these illuminations have a character of their own which distinguishes them from both the Saljiq and Timūrid creations (R. Ettinghausen, *Manuscript illumination*, in *Survey of Persian Art*, iii, 1954-9).

In spite of conservative tendencies in certain early MSS and even in the late MSS painted in Shirāz between 731/1330 and 741/1341 under the Indjū Sultans, miniature painting of the Ilkhānid period achieved a complete break with traditions evolved by Arab or Saljiq Iranian ateliers, or as the Safavid calligrapher and painter Dūst Muḥammad expressed it in 951/1544: Its first great master (Aḥmad Mūsā) "withdrew the covering from the face of painting and invented the kind of painting which is current at the present time". The evolution developed rapidly from MS to MS and, as already the earliest MS, Djuwayni's *Tārikh-i Dīhān-gushā* of 689/1290 in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, indicates, is engendered by a strong Chinese influence. In this earliest MS as well as in a group of undated small-size *Shāh-nāma* MSS of the early 8th/14th century and in the Shirāz MSS between 1330 and 1341 it is only Chinese motifs and Far Eastern costumes which betray the new trend, in many miniatures of the next MS, Ibn Bakhtishū's *Manāfi' al-ḥayawān* of 697-699/1297 or 1299 in the Morgan Library, there is in addition a new indication of spatial depth, an interest in the rendition of landscape and impressionistic tendencies to depict small plants. In MSS of Rashid al-Din's *Djāmi' al-tawārikh* of 706/1306, 714/1314 and 717/1318 the polychrome Saljiq manner is replaced by a linear style with subdued partial colouring. In addition pure landscape renditions and a novel interest in the portrayal of human drama and emotions are to be found. The activities of the next two to three decades are not quite clear, as there are no dated MSS preserved. However, a MS which is usually regarded as the major product of the late period of Sultan Abū Sa'īd and the following years (ca. 1330-40), a large size *Shāh-nāma* fragment (often called the "Demotte *Shāh-nāme*" after its first antiquarian owner) shows various experimental stages of the amalgamation of the novel concepts. At times they appear in somewhat confused compositions, but many miniatures reveal that a new style has been born, so that the MS presents itself in the monumental manner which is commensurate with its subject matter. It goes back to the rich palette of the pre-Mongol styles for figures and architecture but this is combined with three-dimensional monochrome elements used for such landscape features as trees, rocks, hills and receding ridges. While in some paintings there is a full awareness of the new con-

cepts of three-dimensionality, in others space is restricted by placing the action or scene into a narrow frontal zone which is cut off by decoratively treated elements of the background such as hills or an architectural screen. More than in any other MS narration is turned into a heroic spectacle reflecting at times a specific mood. This is even mirrored in the landscapes, which therefore become an important element in the composition. A large body of detached miniatures of historical, legendary, folkloristic and eschatological nature found in eight albums in the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi of Istanbul and in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek (now Tübingen) reflects the same stylistic stage and also that of the following decades. Among them are miniatures from a *Mi'rādj-nāma* with old attributions to Aḥmad Mūsā, who is credited with such a work by Dūst Muḥammad and is called the leading master of the period. The same general data applies probably to the cut-out paintings of a large scale *Kalīla wa-Dimna* MS, now in the University Library, Istanbul, where the more successful integration of the figures and landscape speaks for a slightly later date than that of the more experimental "Demotte *Shāh-nāme*". The only dated MS of this period and style is a *Garshāsp-nāma* of 754/1354 also in the Topkapı Sarayı which represents a stylistic stage after the "Demotte *Shāh-nāme*", but still reflects its manner. A more advanced style, possibly from another locality, if the paintings were not executed at a later date than the MS, is found in another *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, the text of which is dated 744/1343 (in Cairo), where the figures are more diminutive while the landscape is purely decorative and the space hardly rendered. This is a general tendency which is clearly noticeable in various dated MSS of the second half of the 8th/14th century (L. Binyon, J. V. S. Wilkinson, Basil Gray, *Persian miniature painting*, London 1933, 29-48, 184; D. Barrett, *Persian painting in the fourteenth century*, London n.d.; E. Kühnel, *History of miniature painting and drawing*, in *Survey of Persian Art*, iii, 1833-41; R. Ettinghausen, *On some Mongol miniatures*, in *Kunst des Orients*, iii (1959), 44-65; B. Gray, *Persian painting*, Geneva 1961, 19-55 (bibliography: p. 173); B. W. Robinson, *Persian painting*, London 1967, 35-42; 84-5; on the albums: R. Ettinghausen, *Persian Ascension miniatures*, in XII Convegno Volta (Accademia dei Lincei, Roma), Rome 1957, 360-83; M. S. Ipşiroğlu, *Saray-Alben. Diez'sche Klebebände aus Berliner Sammlungen*, Wiesbaden 1964; idem, *Malerei der Mongolen*, Munich 1965).

Bibliography of publications treating of the whole subject: "Ilkhan Art", in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, vii, New York 1963, columns 788-98 with extensive bibliography; and chapters in the general histories of Islamic art, e.g., those by Georges Marçais, Ernst Kühnel and Katharina Otto-Dorn. For the decorative arts and painting see also Oleg Grabar, *Persian art before and after the Mongol conquest*, University of Michigan Museum of Art, Ann Arbor 1959; idem, "The visual arts, 1050-1350" in *Cambridge History of Iran*, v, ed. J. A. Boyle, Cambridge 1968, 626-58.

(R. ETTINGHAUSEN)

'ILLA "cause", pl. 'ilal.

i.—GRAMMAR

The idea of the 'illa is important, and appears in the earliest treatises. In fact, Ibn Sallām al-Djūmāhi, who sees 'Abd Allāh b. Abi Ishāk (d. 117/735) as the founder of *naḥw*, says of him: "he enlarged the scope of *kiyās* and explained the 'ilal" (al-Kifīti,